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New Congress liberals face old opposition of mossback leaders

By Louis E. Burnham

WHEN THE 86th Congress convenes next Jan. 7 the hopes for progressive legislation which millions of voters vested in the Democratic party on Nov. 4 will confront the harsh reality of conservative domination of the nation's law-making machinery, wielded by—Democrats.

The party's Southern wing has a smaller proportionate base among this year's 26,000,000-strong Democratic electorate than in any recent election, and its numerical strength in both Houses, while steady, has been severely reduced in a relative sense by the Democratic upsurge in the Midwest and West. But the Southerners—by virtue of an archaic seniority system and a set of rules designed to maintain reactionary minority control—retain the whip hand in the party and the legislature.

THE APPARATUS: Northern, Midwest and Western Democrats—the "radicals" and "spenders" in the President's peculiar political lexicon—will undoubtedly toss many goods bills into the hopper. But their chances of success will depend largely on their ability to curb their Southern colleagues' control over what, if anything, comes out.

The South's disproportionate influence rests in its near-total control of the party's Congressional apparatus and of key legislative committees. In the Senate, Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, the affable and wily Texan, presides over both the Policy and Steering Committees of the Democratic lawmakers. The Policy Committee determines the legislative priority for various bills; the Steering Committee has the say-so on committee assignments for freshmen Democrats.

A glance at the make-up of these committees would leave the impression that Democratic party strength does not extend beyond the South, Southwest, the border states and the least populous areas of the East and West.

MISREPRESENTATION: Sparsely settled Montana and tiny Rhode Island are both represented by two places on the committees. By contrast, such populous centers of Democratic influence as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois have no place on either body. While California, Oregon and Washington (states with strong union movements) are excluded, Arizona has two places and New Mexico and Nevada one each.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota is the only Midwestern member of either committee whose constituency includes any substantial number of organized workers. On the other hand, the 19 com-

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THE SENATOR FROM ALASKA HAS STARS IN HIS EYES
Ernest Gruening counts up to 49. For a profile of the new state, see p. 3.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE COLD WAR

The impasse on Germany: who violated what

By Kumar Goshal

THE WESTERN POWERS last week were still proclaiming their unqualified opposition to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's Thanksgiving Day proposals for making West Berlin a "free city" under UN supervision and for promoting Germany's unification by means of an East-West German confederation. But mounting opposition to their policy was indicated by the fact that they had not yet made an official reply to the proposals.

On Dec. 4 Secy. Dulles said U.S. forces would remain in West Berlin, West Germany and all other American bases overseas. The same day British Foreign Secy. Lloyd told Parliament the government still insisted on German unification through free elections. Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer declared that West Berlin would be held by the Western forces, and there would be no discussion of German unification without reconsidering the Oder-Neisse line and agreement on free all-German elections.

ADENAUER'S "BLACKMAIL": Dulles' speech, however, was heard with little sympathy by his California State Chamber of Commerce audience, full of people eager to trade with China. Every aspect of his policy was opposed also by the Fifth World Order Study Conference of the Natl. Council of Churches of Christ. Significantly, the Council passed a broad resolution on peaceful coexistence after Dulles had addressed its conference.

In the British parliament Aneurin Bevan, the Labor Party's foreign affairs spokesman, made a powerful attack on the government's position on Germany. He said the free-elections formula for German unification only prolonged disunity and permitted Adenauer to "blackmail" Poland and the Soviet Union. He strongly supported the plan for a neutralized Germany and the Rapacki plan for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe as a neutral buffer area.

Adenauer was not having an easy time either. Facing increasing criticism in his own party, he vainly tried to bolster his position by soliciting support from the opposition. But Social Democratic leaders Erich Ollenhauer and Dr. Carlo Schmid, Bundestag (parliament) Vice President, said they would support only a policy for a neutral Germany.

THE BACKGROUND: While the West pondered its reply to Khrushchev, accusations were flung back and forth as to the blame for the German deadlock. The West said Moscow was violating the Potsdam agreement by unilaterally planning to hand over its zone in Berlin to the East German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union said that the agreement was no longer valid, since the Western powers had violated all its provisions. These are the facts:

The first plans for post-war Germany were drawn in Moscow in 1943. Roose-

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ANALYSIS OF THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

De Gaulle sweeps the Right to victory

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE WINNER of the great Gaullist landslide of November 23 and 30 was the reactionary, the colonialist and the fascist right.

Just how Gaullist the Gaullist landslide was is difficult to say, since no one yet knows what Gaullism really is. The General is not alone in his silence on the question. The "Union for the New Republic" (UNR), Soustelle's victorious new Gaullist party, has announced that its program will not be drafted until December. But if the liberal, left-of-reactionary reputation that still clings persistently to the name of de Gaulle means anything, then either the UNR has double-crossed its voters, or the voters have voted for something far more to the right than de Gaulle.

For the UNR vote has not only sent to the Assembly a certain number of fascists (such as Jean-Baptiste Biaggi, trigger-man of the ex-paratroopers and para-fascist youth groups) and men of the May 13 "revolution" (such as Léon Delbecque, vice-president of the Algiers Public Safety Committee). An analysis of election results also brings out these trends:

- Wherever a so-called "left-wing" Gaullist ran in competition with another (right-wing) Gaullist, the former was defeated, even if he was a nationally known figure and his opponent a perfect stranger.
- The same was true where a left-wing Gaullist campaigned against a non-Gaullist right-wing candidate.

ANTI-PARLIAMENT: In Paris alone, two well-known left-wing Gaullists—ex-Mendèsist Pierre Clostermann, Resistance pilot and writer, and Col. Barberot, a high Army officer known for his criticism of the Algerian war—were defeated as early as the first ballot.

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THE MAIL BAG

In plain language

CINCINNATI, OHIO

In voting Democratic, the voters were not registering approval of any unified political idea or coherent political program. Mostly it was a vote of no-confidence in the Republican Party and a desire "for change" in the hope that "things will be better."

This raises a large political question mark that could dominate the immediate years ahead. Can the victorious Democrats succeed in reconciling the clashing interests of varied Democratic voting elements, or will they tear themselves apart again as they did after Truman's 1948 triumph?

The next few years will tell us if we have another Eugene V. Debs among us or not. I have said again and again that as long as our progressives cater to the intellectual forces and neglect to write and talk in a language we workers can understand, the same thing will happen time and again.

Reuel Stanfield

A real alternative

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Although one might concede that the Democrats have made greater concessions to the social welfare of the American people during the last few decades, both parties do not differ fundamentally as far as foreign policy is concerned nor do they differ as far as the status quo is concerned in relation to the economic, political and social structure of our country. The cold war, after all, originated under the Democratic Truman administration and the GUARDIAN correctly referred to Mr. Harriman as an architect in that cold war.

I am frankly puzzled by how much a group of really progressive people would be successful in putting some of their program into effect by working within the Democratic party when even the not necessarily liberal or progressive insurgent groups have not had what you might call tremendous success in battling the leaders of the Tammany machine.

I think it's rather important that this country always keep a place in the voting machines for a socialist-oriented party so that in a time of real crisis the voters will have a real alternative to the war and depression parties that now exist.

Stan Hoff

To cripple labor

SEATTLE, WASH.

Increased pressure to cripple labor and extract greater profits on the home front is coming. A potent factor is the new international situation—rapidly increasing participation of socialist states in world trade and finance. The happy days for American monopolies and international cartels, when buying cheap from colonial and semi-colonial lands and selling dear to them went unchallenged, are ending as news indicates.

In this state defeat of a right-to-work initiative was followed at once by a new threat from big business; labor responded promptly. In labor's recent victory here it was helped by small business and farmers; Negroes did a fine job as usual when labor is threatened.

Pressure is on the victorious Democratic machine and even before the election it made concessions to big business here. Plans were made for upping our sales tax—already highest in the nation. Of course the poison bill is sugar-coated. When labor held a big pre-election rally our Democratic governor was too busy to go; he had plenty of time for Dulles on his recent visit to Seattle.

Name withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

So the little bit of fallout that blows over Los Angeles may have a sort of second-order good effect in acquainting people with the properties of it, so they get an idea about what it is really like.

—Dr. Willard F. Libby
on **Face the Nation**
TV program, Nov. 16

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under the heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: K. G., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Free to go crazy

STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.

Adlai Stevenson quoted Soviet experts telling him Russians are less prone to mental disease than Americans because their tempo of life is slower. They have to make fewer decisions (as far as health is concerned, since the government does the worrying for the people) and they enjoy a group life and belief in common aims.

Now, why should Americans have the same relief of strain when they can go crazy as much as they please. Their children can get burned or their youth can kill each other, become dope addicts. This is a free democracy and we do our own thinking, so a Rockefeller can get elected instead of having a one-party system as in the Soviet Union. Here we have bi-partisanism and a free choice of going crazy as much as we please.

S.A.

Unpossessive

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The American people today are caught in a dilemma. They may have the right to vote but in most parts of the country do not have a political party which will represent them. As the conflicts in our society increase (foreign policy, education, segregation, housing, unemployment), I believe more and more Americans will feel the need to re-examine cliches and platitudes which are expressed daily by politicians, newspapers, radio, TV and the movies.

Socially-minded people need to take the initiative in introducing new ideas to these people. We can build a party that represents the people but only when the people have the information.

We have the information. Let's not be possessive about it.

A. B.

The lunacy ward

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Reading some of the stuff that goes on in your country would lead any intelligent, sane person to the conclusion that some of the U.S. high officials would be candidates for a lunacy ward in any country outside the U.S. You have Generals and Admirals shooting off about how "we can lick 'em," or words to that effect, and politicians (statesmen, I suppose they call themselves) who attempt to dictate and lay down laws to other countries as if they were gods. The armed forces of the country are shipped hither and yon—barging into other peoples lands—on the phony pretense that they are there to "protect U.S. property and/or citizens!"

To the outsider all this is repugnant. Who do these swell-headed individuals think they are? Do they think they are able to stop the clock—the march of human affairs in their puny efforts to maintain the status quo?

This is not to be construed that we don't have any of these madmen here too. We have.

J. Carr

For love of music

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We're a poor pathetic remnant of the good old days, when progressive choruses flourished. Well, a few of us got together and decided to try our luck at reviving this type of activity (see ad, p. 11). We are all somewhat accomplished at reading music and definitely interested in working on this project. Is there any musician around who'd like to become the conductor of a full-fledged septet—or maybe even octet? We need a guy who knows his stuff and is devoted enough to the cause to work for nothing until we can earn money through bookings to pay him.

Dorothy L. Hoffman

Tit Bits, London

Parallel in film

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"I Want to Live", the new movie starring Susan Hayward, deals with a case of grave injustice. Students of the Rosenberg-Sobell case will have little difficulty in recognizing the parallels and in drawing useful conclusions. For example, they are likely to sit right down and send a letter to President Eisenhower, urging him to usher in the holiday season by granting freedom to Morton Sobell.

Aaron Katz

See Report to Readers, this page, and Spectator, p. 10. Editor.

Alaska's the word

CHICAGO, ILL.

We were very interested in your recent article on Alaska (Nov. 24). It has stimulated our family to the point of starting a scrapbook on things Alaskan. We are even thinking of visiting there soon and perhaps, in the distant future, settling there permanently.

We are seeking Alaskan pen pals. Hope you can help.

The Butler family
2057 W. Garfield Blvd.

See story on p. 3. Editor.

Count them in

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Yes, indeed! we are looking forward with you to a "Second Big Ten." Congratulations and best wishes. May you serve your devoted readers as well in the future as you have in the past.

Enclosed please find $5 to subscribe for a reader who, after some absence, is returning to the Guardian Family.

Anselm & Nina Hammer

Ten years ago in the Guardian

PROFITS HAVE SOMETHING to do with policy, Sen. O'Mahoney (D- Wyo.) concluded last week. He said: "The airlift to Berlin is good and desirable. But the government has to make huge purchases of high octane gasoline to keep those planes in the air. Certainly the tremendous profits of the oil companies have something to do with this spending."

—National Guardian, Dec. 20, 1948

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REPORT TO READERS

Amnesty appeals

THIS EDITORIAL IS WRITTEN at this time to urge you to write two short letters to the President at this Christmas-time, asking amnesty for Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, the two Communists remaining in jail under the Smith Act; and for Morton Sobell, now in Atlanta Penitentiary after five years in hated Alcatraz on an espionage conspiracy conviction that the Supreme Court has refused to review.

For the purpose of helping you demonstrate to your friends that others presumably more objective than the GUARDIAN feel as we do about the cases, we offer the following comments from other papers.

THE CAPITAL TIMES of Madison, Wisc., had this to say (in part) on Nov. 10 about the Green-Winston case, under the headline "2 Political Prisoners Who Mock Our Pretension of Freedom:"

"These men were sentenced in 1950 when the hysteria that produced mccarthyism [that's how they spell it in the late senator's home state] was just getting under way. Since that time the court decisions have made it increasingly clear that such convictions couldn't be sustained today. The courts do not like the Smith Act and the Justice Dept. is increasingly reluctant to bring prosecutions under it . . .

"While these two men are behind bars this country cannot point an accusing finger at other countries with political prisoners—men jailed because of their ideas. They are a reminder of a dark day when men were imprisoned, not for overt acts of revolution or espionage, but for the thoughts they had and the words they spoke."

Since Green and Winston were convicted with the first group of Communist leaders nearly nine years ago, the Supreme Court and lesser courts have thrown out Smith Act cases all over the country and in Hawaii and Puerto Rico. Green and Winston are in jail now because they remained fugitives from injustice for five years before giving themselves up. They are now serving their original sentences plus three years for "contempt of court," for bail-jumping.

ON MORTON SOBELL, as well as Green and Winston, a Chicago **Daily News** columnist, Harry Barnard, wrote the following on Nov. 24:

"Instead of brewing new hysteria over 'Reds,' what we ought to achieve right now is some act of affirmative faith in democracy's strength.

"Pertinent, I think, is a movement by many good people to have President Eisenhower commute the sentence of Morton Sobell from a 30-year term to the seven [actually nearly nine.—Ed] he has served because of the atomic spy case involving the Rosenbergs. Likewise, the movement to release Gilbert Green and Henry Winston . . .

"To grant freedom now to these men, at least on the point that they have been punished enough, would show we do not fear communism.

"All over the world, as well as here, this would add to men's faith in our system . . ."

An amnesty card prepared by the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y., reminds the President that "the holiday season in a time to renounce vengeance and to actively seek justice and good will toward all men." We hope you'll write your own letters to the President, for Sobell as well as for Green and Winston.

The Green and Winston amnesty campaign is directed by the Smith Act Families Committee, 189 W. Madison St., Room 811, Chicago 2, Ill.

WHEN YOU WRITE to the President, will you consider two other letters in this amnesty season?

- To Attorney-General William Rogers, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C., asking that his department terminate all actions under the Smith Act and the non-Communist oath provision of the Taft-Hartley law and join in asking freedom for their victims.
- And PLEASE write a letter to the Georgia Board of Pardons and Parole, Atlanta, Ga., asking for a pardon for Rosa Lee Ingram and her sons. In November, 1947, Mrs. Ingram was attacked by a white field hand. Her sons, 13 and 15, came to her assistance. In the struggle the field hand was hit on the head and died. Mrs. Ingram and her sons were jailed. At first she was sentenced to death, later the sentence was commuted to life. She and her sons are still in jail. Parole has been refused as late as this year. Thousands of letters should call for the Ingram family's freedom this Christmas.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE 49TH STATE IS THE MOST PROGRESSIVE

Alaska: A frontier land and spirit

By Elmer Bendiner

THE FORTY-NINTH state is labor's first. Organized labor got out Alaska's vote, ran the Democratic campaign to a sweeping victory, did the canvassing, the poll-watching, most of the voting and the celebrating. Alaskan labor sent to the U.S. Senate one of the few politically surviving New Dealers, Ernest Gruening, who, along with his Alaskan colleagues in the House and Senate, may bring a fresh breath of air to Washington.

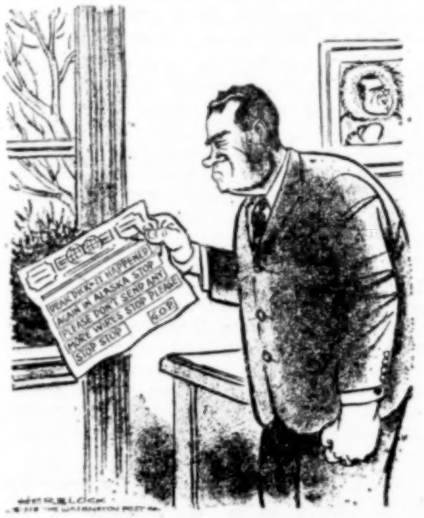
Alaskan labor, at the moment in the saddle in Juneau, is not left-wing but all of its history, geography and economy forces Alaska to the progressive side of most national controversies.

With its 34,000 Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians, many of them in top political spots, the new state is committed against white supremacy.

Highly unionized and with labor a clear majority of the electorate, Alaska can be counted upon to vote against anti-labor legislation.

Closer at some points to the Far East than to continental U.S., it favors trade with China for economic motives.

Finally, the long fight for statehood is tied up with Alaska's battle against powerful U.S. monopolies and a rule which Sen. Gruening has denounced as a prime example of colonialism. Alaska's immediate future is likely to see a sharpening battle against bigger monopolies.



Herblock in Washington Post

CLEAN SWEEP: Up for election in Alaska's first balloting as a state were two seats in the Senate, one in the House, the offices of Governor and Secretary of State, and 60 seats in the state legislature. Democrats won all state offices and all but six seats in the Legislature.

Candidates clad in fur parkas campaigned vigorously, touring the state in small planes and dog sleds. Vice President Nixon and Interior Secy. Seaton tried to stem the tide by personal campaigning for the GOP candidates. It was all in vain. On Nov. 26, 40,000 voters, three-quarters of the electorate, (a record high for any state) went to the polls and elected Democrats with a strong civil-rights, pro-labor mandate.

When it was over, Sen. Gruening thanked Seaton for being "very helpful to the Democrats." In many ways Gruening is the outstanding figure to emerge in the new state.

GRAND OLD MAN: At 71 he is the grand old man of Alaskan statehood. Of Jewish parentage, Gruening followed his father's footsteps and took his medical degree at Harvard. Then he dropped medicine and turned to journalism. He was an editor of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** and of the **Nation.** During the New Deal he went to Washington and President Roosevelt appointed him Governor of the Territory of Alaska, a post he held for 13 years.

Then and since he has fought against the tyranny of the salmon monopolies and the fleecing of Alaska's resources. In countless personal political battles he took on the powerful attorney for the Alaskan salmon industry, W. C. Arnold, whom he denounced as the "boss of Alaska."

He wrote and fought for statehood as the only way to end the countless discriminations burdening the Territory. Running against him was a man scarcely more than half his age, Mike Stepovich, 39, who had served as Territorial Governor, appointed by Eisenhower. Stepovich had been the hope of the Republicans and it was on his campaign that Nixon and Seaton lavished their oratory and the GOP campaign funds.

OTHER VICTORS: Also elected were Sen. E. L. Bartlett and Rep. Ralph R. Rivers. In Juneau the new Governor will be William Egan, the keeper of a general store, serving with Secretary of State Hugh. J. Wade.

Typical of Alaskan politics is the contest for president of the Senate between Frank Peratrovich, an Indian who came to prominence as organizer of the Alaska purse seiners' union, and William Beltz, an Eskimo, former business agent of the carpenters' union.

To the new administration at Juneau falls the job of setting up the state. Under Alaska's constitution the Governor appoints the entire judiciary. He must also staff the numerous commissions as rapidly as Washington releases its hold.

The Egan government will select the 103,000,000 acres it wants for state land development. About 99% of Alaska is owned by the Federal government. Under the Statehood Act, Alaska is allowed to select about one-third of that territory for state administration. Egan's other formidable problems stem from the legacy of Alaska's colonial days.

THE HISTORY: A Dane named Vitus Bering, working for the Russians, and a Russian explorer, Alexei Chirikov, staked out Alaska for the Czarina Catherine the Great in 1741 and called it "Russian America." In 1867 Secy. of State Seward bought it from Russia for $7,200,000, roughly 2c an acre. Officially it was called Alaska, a corruption of the Aleut word for mainland. Unofficially it was called "Seward's Folly." Then came gold and Robert W. Service's ballads and a series of harsh disputes with Britain to settle the boundaries in the wilderness.

Gold and salmon drew white men to the new frontier and they brought with them venereal disease, tuberculosis and whiskey which decimated the Aleuts on the islands, the Indians in the interior and the Eskimos along the coasts. Forty-six years ago the informal arrangement for looting the region was organized into territorial status. It meant complete political control from Washington with all officials appointed and a Congressional veto over any act the territorial legislature might pass.

THE LOOTERS: Economic control centered in Seattle from where the salmon shippers and canners directed their operations. In 1920 the Jones Act (named for Sen. Wesley Jones of Seattle) confirmed the colonial status of Alaska under terms about as harsh as George III's. It required that all cargoes traveling between the U.S. and its possessions be shipped in U.S. vessels through U.S. ports. In effect it gave a shipping monopoly to the Alaska Steamship Co. Seattle terminals jacked up the charges of all shipments from Alaska so that Alaskans paid greater freight rates to Seattle than it would have cost them to send cargoes to Hawaii or the Far East.

Sea and Earth, Berlin

Timber had to be shipped through Seattle rather than Vancouver—more than doubling the cost. The Alaskan Salmon Industry, Inc., an association of 50 companies including the A & P and Libby, McNeil & Libby, ran the fisheries, squeezing out Alaskan fishing operations and ruthlessly devastating an important resource of the territory. Through its Washington lobby it controlled the Federal Fish and Wildlife Service to the utter mismanagement of Alaska fisheries. Enormous floating fish traps, 90% of them operated by the big canning companies, virtually monopolized the fishing grounds.

Like the fishing grounds, the gold, copper and coal mines were operated by "absentee landlords." **Fortune** magazine commented: "Alaska's absentee owners, like most people geographically separated from their capital, are pre-occupied with profits, protection and the bearing of as few burdens as possible." Politically, Gruening diagnosed Washington's rule as "bureaucratic bursitis" and "appropriation anemia." Without voting representation in Congress, Alaskans had no chance to fight back.

FRONTIER LAND: When President Eisenhower formally declares Alaska a state, probably next month, the Jones Act will be automatically repealed, the colonial discriminations and monopolies will be legally ended. The nation will have a new state twice the size of Texas, one-fifth the size of all the other states put together.

It opens up a frontier land where 20th century Americans can stake out a claim to a homestead. Many are doing just that and the land office is way behind in processing the rush. Claim seekers can get 160 acres of land free if they put up a habitable house on it and cultivate one-eighth of it for one season.

Growing up with the country may be a meteoric process. Last year Richfield Oil Co. brought in a wildcat well on the Kenai peninsula that produces 900 barrels a day. Standard Oil and other companies have moved in and estimates indicate that 100,000,000 acres warrant oil and gas exploration. Alaska may be one of the world's four great petroleum basins. Its timber can supply 1,000,000 tons of newsprint a year and it has the world's best sites for hydro-electric dams. Its sub-soil teems with most of the minerals U.S. industry needs.

PEOPLE NEEDED: Modern frontiersmen can claim the country's best wages. For example, Alaskan plasterers, bricklayers and lathers get $4.32 an hour; plumbers and electricians, $4.25; carpenters, $3.69; laborers, $3.18. But since most food must still be imported, prices are high, too: tomatoes, 55c a lb.; milk, 60c a quart; a short beer, 60-70c.

Alaska needs many things but particularly people. It has a total population of 212,000, including 47,000 military personnel and their 20,000 dependents, which leaves about one person to every four square miles. It has the youngest population of any state in the union (median age: 26) the highest birth rate and the lowest death rate. To women pioneers it offers the singular attraction that it is the only state in the union where men vastly outnumber women. That makes for a gay saloon life in the cities but it also provides the American woman with a solution to the nation-wide man-shortage.

CARL BRADEN
Four indictments in four years

HE FIGHTS JIMCROW

Braden indicted on contempt; he defied Un-American probe

CARL BRADEN of Louisville, Ky., a field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, has been indicted by a federal grand jury in Atlanta, Ga., on a charge of contempt of Congress. Braden refused to answer questions put to him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities at a hearing in Atlanta last July 30.

Braden challenged the right of the committee to inquire into his activities in the integration movement. He told the committee members they "should be investigating atrocities against Jews and Negroes in the South instead of harassing integrationists."

It was Braden's fourth indictment in four years. He was first indicted in August, 1954, after he and his wife Anne acted as agents for a Negro family in buying a house in a so-called white neighborhood in a Louisville suburb. The charge was voting twice in a primary election, which a judge later said was the fault of election officials.

OTHER INDICTMENTS: In October, 1954, the Bradens and four other white persons were indicted on charges of advocating sedition and criminal syndicalism. They were accused of trying to stir racial strife by helping the Negroes buy the house, which was blown up with a dynamite bomb. The bombers were never prosecuted, but Braden was sentenced to 15 years in prison and fined $5,000. He served eight months before the higher courts threw out the indictment.

The Bradens were also indicted on a charge of conspiring to bomb the house but this indictment was dismissed without trial after the state admitted it had no evidence to link them with the bombing. Mrs. Braden then wrote **The Wall Between,** a book on race relations based on the couple's experiences in the Louisville case.

The couple was summoned to Atlanta just eight days after the book was published. Mrs. Braden's appearance was postponed but her husband went before the committee and challenged it. He was cited for contempt by the House on Aug. 13 and this was the basis for the new indictment in Atlanta.

Want to go to Alaska? Here's what to do

A $1 DEPT. OF INTERIOR fact book, **Mid-Century Alaska,** will give you the information you need. The Department also distributes a free employment sheet, listing types of jobs available and names of persons to contact.

For the fact book, write Supt. of Documents, G.P.O., Washington, D.C., and enclose $1. For the employment sheet, write Office of Territories, Dept. of Interior, Washington 25, D.C.

For a list of investment opportunities, write Alaska Resource Development Board, Juneau, Alaska.

The French Assembly — old and new

FOLLOWING IS THE COMPOSITION of the new French Assembly as compared with the old on June 3, the date of its last meeting. The figures cover only continental France:

	Old	*New*
Communists and allies	144	10
Diverse left		2
Socialists	91	40
Radicals	42	13
Dissidents, Radicals and other Center and Center-Right	35	22
Popular Republicans and Christian Democrats	71	57
Independents, Peasants and other conservatives	107	132
Gaullists	13	188
Poujadists	30	1
Unattached	7	

Below is a table comparing votes for the major parties in 1956 and in the first vote in 1958, both as to the totals and the percentage of the ballots cast. The comparison is not precise in all cases, as there have been shifting alliances with smaller parties of the same general political complexion.

	1956		1958	
	Vote	%	*Vote*	%
Communists	5,492,326	25.5	3,882,204	18.9
Socialists	3,187,890	14.8	3,167,354	15.5
Radical Socialists	2,952,567	13.6	983,201	4.8
UNR			3,603,958	17.6
MRP (Catholics)	2,355,873	10.9	2,378,788	11.6
Poujadists	2,608,481	12	669,518	3.3
Independents	3,084,576	14.2	2,815,176	13.7

It took an average of approximately 19,000 votes to send a UNR candidate to the Assembly; 79,000 to elect a Socialist and more than 388,000 for a Communist. A total Communist vote of close to 4,000,000 elected ten Deputies; nearly 6,000,000 non-Communist Left votes elected only 77; while less than 5,000,000 Gaullist votes seated 188.

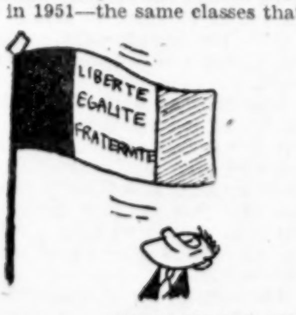
French elections

(Continued from Page 1)

Second (and sometimes first) concern of the Gaullist voter was to "get out the outgoing" deputies. All parties, from extreme Left to extreme Right, must share the responsibility for the wave of anti-parliamentarism—dangerous symptom of approaching anti-republicanism—that runs through the country.

The spectacular defeat of some prominent anti-Gaullist leaders, such as Pierre Mendés-France and Francois Mitterand, has been attributed to the voters' pro-Gaullist mood. Actually, a certain number of no less prominent pro-Gaullists and, more generally, leaders of many parties — from the SP's Gaston Defferre (of recent Gaullist conversion) and ex-Algerian Resident Minister Robert Lacoste to Radical leader Edgar Faure and reactionary, ex-collaborationist André Morice—also failed of re-election. The voters' quest for new men is the prime cause of all these defeats.

THE NEW FACES: The voter wanted a new House. He has got what he wanted. Out of the last Assembly's 537 deputies, only 150 will come back to the Palais-Bourbon for another term. Out of the more than 300 new men, the lion's share goes to Soustelle's UNR. (The UNR's social roots remain to be analyzed, but it already appears that its voters belong not so much to the wealthy upper classes but to the small and lower middle classes who voted Poujadist in 1956 and for the Gaullist Rally of the French People (RPF) in 1951—the same classes that helped nazism and fascism to power in pre-war Germany and Italy).



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Words from a dead language?

But if the UNR deputies' faces are largely unknown, their future course of action is less uncertain. The new party has two hard, experienced cores: Minister of Information Soustelle and his well-organized pro-fascist group; and the ultra-reactionary group of 71 Algerian deputies. It seems a fair guess that some of the new and perhaps more open-minded UNR deputies cannot remain aloof long from one of these centers.

How much of a landslide in reality was the Gaullist victory? It is interesting to note that the UNR's parliamentary predecessor, the Gaullist RPF, carried 21.5% of the national vote in 1951, but was down to 4.4% again in the 1956 elections. Taking the results of the first ballot (in the second one, the UNR collected many other votes for the sole purpose of beating a left-wing candidate), the UNR's 17.6% is not up to the 1951 Gaullist success. But in 1951, the Gaullists **without** de Gaulle (at the time he had retired from politics) faced a strong Communist Party (25.4%) and a Left not united but sure of itself and of its positions. Today, the UNR has before it a Left that has suffered its severest jolt and, as a result of the thoroughly unjust electoral law, has the weakest parliamentary representation since the Liberation.

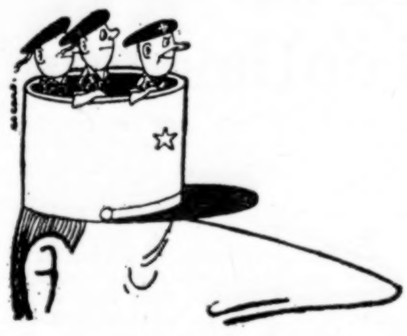
THE LESSONS: The anti-Gaullist Mendèsist Radicals and the Democratic and Socialist Resistance Union have not only seen their leaders defeated: they have disappeared from the House.

The left-wing Gaullists, elminated by the voters, have had to learn the lesson that in Gaullism there is no room for a left wing.

There is another lesson to be drawn for Socialist Party leader Guy Mollet whose Gaullist fervor has brought him 40 instead of his previous 88 deputies. If Mollet is quite unwilling to learn that lesson, the same may not be true of other SP leaders and some rank and file.

The SP anti-Gaullist dissidents have had some personal successes in several Paris districts where they collected more votes than the orthodox SP—but nowhere enough to elect a candidate.

To the CP, the firt ballot brought a defeat as serious and more explicit than the Sept. 28 plebiscite. Still the country's biggest party, it was down to 18.9% of the vote, its lowest percentage since the Liberation. But in the second ballot, the CP gained a substantial number of votes, in some areas equalling its 1956 percentage. Whether this is a mere Republican defense reflex, or the beginning of the voters' realization that they have been misled, is too early to say.



Liberation, Paris

LAST BULWARK? The Left, caught by surprise by the Algerian coup of May 13, unwilling or incapable since of promoting a broad unity movement or any strong and striking program, and overwhelmed by an all-out pro-Gaullist radio and press campaign, has been paying heavily for the last ten years' errors and mis-steps; the first among these is still the SP leadership's unrelenting anti-communism.

We must realize today, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber wrote in **l'Express**, that "the permanent, the fatal danger is in the eternal reaction against the men of progress, and against progress; that the dramatic error of the Left, in our country, since the Liberation, has been stupidly to fix itself on a supposed extreme Left-wing danger."

The Fifth Republic's first Assembly will be the most reactionary that the country has seen in a century. It will offer de Gaulle no two interchangeable majorities to play with, but just one all-right-wing, reactionary and fascist one. So persistent is his reputation as a liberal-at-heart whose secret intentions can't merge with those of the Right, that **Le Monde's** Maurice Duverger already sees the possibility of a conflict between de Gaulle and the new Assembly, and other commentators consider him the last bulwark against the fascist flood that threatens to sweep the country.

GUARDIAN THEATER NIGHT

'Quare Fellow' subs for O'Casey Dec. 17

IN VIEW of the announced Dec. 6 closing of Sean O'Casey's **Cock-A-Doodle Dandy,** rather than deprive GUARDIAN readers of their scheduled Guardian Theater Night on Dec. 17, we've made an excellent substitution for that night—Brendan Behan's **Quare Fellow,** at the Circle in the Square, 7th Av. and West 4th St.

Behan has been described by the critics as the most exciting playwright since O'Casey, and his **Quare Fellow** drew such notices as "original, boisterous, perceptive" (Atkinson, **Times**); "a hit—enormously beguiling, great style and atmosphere" (McClain, **Journal-American**).

Tickets are priced the same: $5 and $6. For reservations call Guardian Theater Party, ORegon 3-3800.

Rev. McCrackin on hunger strike

GUARDS REPORTED last week that the Rev. Maurice McCrackin of Cincinnati has taken no food whatever since he entered the county jail on Nov. 24. He takes only occasional sips of water, they said. He appears to be well though his clothes look "a little baggier," one guard said.

McCrackin, pastor of the West Cincinnati-Saint Barnabas Church and director of Findlay St. Neighborhood House, has refused to pay Federal income taxes because he will not "buy guns or bombs." He has refused to attend hearings unless physically carried there. When brought before Judge John H. Druffel for refusing to obey a summons, Rev. McCrackin refused to cooperate even to the extent of pleading guilty or innocent. When, after being certified as mentally competent, the pastor still refused to make a plea, Judge Druffel sent him to jail on an indefinite sentence until he promised to cooperate. Another hearing is scheduled for December 12.

Meanwhile a request that President Eisenhower intervene in the case came from Norman Thomas and 13 prominent clergymen, including Dr. John McKay, president of the Princeton Theological School, Donald Harrington of New York's Community Church, and A. J. Muste.

THE SUPER-SECRET

'Spy revelation' seen aimed at Sobell amnesty

A SCANDALOUS REVELATION early this month revealed that the Soviet Union is stealing secrets we never knew we had. Myles Lane, who as Asst. U.S. Attorney helped to convict Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, exhumed the testimony of David Greenglass at the Rosenberg trial in which he said that he once heard Julius Rosenberg say the U.S. had "solved the problem of atomic energy for airplanes." That quote was enough to make a three-column headline in the N.Y. **World Telegram and Sun:** "REDS' THEFT OF A-PLANE DATA HINTED IN ROSENBEG TRIAL RECORD."

The story nowhere explained the fact that the Soviets reportedly have an atomic-powered plane and the U.S. does not. The answer would seem to be that the Rosenbergs stole a secret the U.S. didn't know it had and now it can't find a carbon copy of it anywhere. Either that or the secret is so tightly guarded that it can only be had by stealing it, something the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force have thus far failed to do.

ANNUAL EVENTS: Myles Lane annually turns to the Rosenberg trial record as a source of fresh publicity. Last year, when the Soviets launched their first sputnik, Lane said Greenglass had testified that Rosenberg had stolen the satellite secret. Greenglass' testimony may have been very thin but it spread over a wide area.

The readiness of newspapers to print Lane's annual revelations from Greenglass raised questions in some minds:

Are the Rosenberg prosecutors and the press under a compulsion to go on trying the Rosenbergs as if they were still alive? Or are these annual excursions designed to prevent the success of the amnesty campaign for Morton Sobell (see Report to Readers, p. 2).

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INDIA'S COMMUNIST STATE OF KERALA

Plantation owners create pigsties in paradise

By Cedric Belfrage

MUNNAR, KERALA STATE, INDIA

THIS SOUTH INDIAN state with its 20-month-old elected Communist government is at once India's most beautiful, most literate, most Christianized and cleanest state, potentially among its richest and with a population among the poorest.

Because Kerala's government is Communist, functioning under a bourgeois-democratic federal constitution, a strike by most of the 35,000 plantation workers on the tea estates here in the mountains—now in abeyance pending the efforts of a conciliation board—has drawn world attention. Police technically under state control fired on demonstrators and picket-lines in three places in the area, killing two men.

The government aroused an anti-communist fanfare when it promptly sent up a minister, began a full investigation of police allegations that they were "attacked," ordered compensation for bereaved families, transferred some police officers and declared the strike itself to be justified.

SCENIC PARADISE: Scenically the road which links the tea, rubber and coffee estates with Trivandrum, the state capital, is like a highway from the gates of paradise to paradise itself. From the brilliantly green and shaded coastal plain, the road winds upward past magnificent waterfalls through a jungle of vegetation and flamboyant blossoms of hibiscus, poinsettia and bougainvillea.

Knee-high tea bushes cover the hilltops as far as one can see around Munnar. At night in the small dim-lit marketplace frogs croak an accompaniment to a wailing sound-track from a tin movie house, an advertising spiel from a parked loudspeaker jeep, and the clanging of bells and gongs from a temple where torch-bearing Hindus pay ritual respects to the 12-headed, 12-armed god of strength. Across a foot-bridge suspended perilously above the river, Christians prostrate themselves before a candle-lit shrine to the Virgin.

MAN'S WORK: In the morning you begin to find out what some men have made out of this paradise.

You visit the office of the INTUC (anti-Communist) union, which with the biggest membership a month ago was first to call a strike and then quickly but for the most part vainly called it off. The union leader is out and "there is no one who can talk to you," and you proceed to the AITUC (Communist-led) union headquarters—a tiny hole in the wall crowded inside and out with militant-looking types. Here are plenty of people who can and do talk as long as you will listen.

Then you visit J. B. Soutar, the erect, soldierly, gentle-voiced Britisher who runs "the company." He puts "the company's" case pleasantly, with conviction and without condescension.

INDIAN WOMEN REGISTERING TO VOTE
In Kerala the Communists won

What you get from all this is that the workers struck for various demands which have been under discussion without result for nearly six years, the main one being increased bonus. Wages are fixed at approximately 29c a day for male workers in the processing factories, while women on piece-rates average 53c a day in season for plucking the leaves. The bonus is an accepted principle in India, but "the company" on the basis of reduced tea prices offers only 4% this year, although it has paid more than twice as much in previous years.

PRO AND CON: The workers say that per capita production has tripled in the past four years while the number of employes declined, and that what they get is not enough for a family's rice needs. The AITUC union seeks an industry-wide settlement with bonus to be regarded as deferred wages.

"The company" regrets that the fluctuating tea market, over which no one in Kerala has any control, rules out acceptance of this principle. It claims to be so "hedged about with laws and regulations," and with tax demands from both central and state governments, that "heavens knows where we'll find the money" for improved workers' housing required under India's Plantation Labor Act. It produces balance sheets setting forth its financial plight. The workers say that the real profits are concealed, especially since "the company" lumps together plantations in Assam, Madras, Ceylon and Africa.

The management and anti-Communists in Trivandrum insist that the strike is "political," egged on by the state government to gain favor for itself among the workers, whom it seeks to dominate by stirring up strife between different castes and religions.

The only evidence of this is that most of the plantation owners and managers (including Indians) are Christians—but so are many of the workers; and most of the workers are members of the old "untouchable" caste, or of what used to be called "criminal tribes" who formerly had to report weekly to the police. These are unquestionably the mass elements on which effective trade unionism and the struggle for socialism must be built in India. As for expressions of race or caste prejudice, I have noted a few here but none from the workers or their leaders.

SLUMS IN PARADISE: The workers need no further case beyond the price of rice and the "lines" (now only referred to **sotto voce** by managers as "coolie lines") which are their "homes." I have seen many nightmarish constructions around the world described as "housing," but I cannot conceive of anything worse than the Munnar "lines" which I visited. Yet I was told that in other plantations even worse does exist.

These pigsties in paradise are black windowless holes in which any civilized person should be ashamed to keep a dog. It does not seem possible that Soutar and his colleagues, who claim to have spent thousands of pounds on "renovating" them in the past year, have ever seen them close up. The black holes contain nothing but a few cooking pots and some rags hung on pegs, and the bare earthen floor is often not wide enough for the occupying family to stretch out body-to-body.

The simple fact is that here two philosophies, which have never anywhere been reconciled without some "violence," are locked in conflict. The planters' and right-wingers' chagrin after the recent Munnar district by-election, won by Communist Rosamma Punnoose against all the power that reaction could muster, is not rational if they would give it a little thought.

Nor should they be surprised that, above many of the workers' "lines" today, the red hammer-and-sickle flag flutters from high coco-palm masts. Kerala's Communists are aware of many mistakes and of much they still have to learn, but in this setting their flag is a brave and beautiful sight.

Nobody else is trying to bring the more abundant life to these potentially fine human beings just emerging from peonage. What chances reaction has of convincing them otherwise, will be dealt in another article.

German impasse

(Continued from Page 1)

velt was alive and the U.S. and U.S.S.R. considered Germany a threat to both the East and the West, and it was generally believed that the wartime East-West alliance would fruitfully continue after victory. As Hanson W. Baldwin wrote in the N.Y. **Times:**

"The negotiations [on Germany's future] were conducted against the background of a state of mind then prevalent: exultation in victory and a belief that the Soviet Union was a political as well as military 'buddy' of the U.S."

THE CONTROL COUNCIL: On Nov. 14, 1944, a European Advisory Commission —U.S. Ambassador to Britain John G. Winant, the Soviet Union's F. T. Gusev and Britain's Sir William Strang— signed three documents and approved a map dividing Germany into occupation zones and providing for joint control of Berlin. France was later admitted as a partner.

The June 5, 1945, Berlin Agreement and the August, 1945, Potsdam Agreement spelled out the areas to be occupied by the East and the West and the purpose of the four-power occupation of Germany. This was to root out Germany's war-making potential "in such manner as permanently to prevent the revival or reorganization of German militarism and Nazism."

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It was agreed that Berlin would be the seat of the Control Council—composed of the four military chiefs—which would put into effect the transformation of Germany by destroying the German military and semi-military organizations, smashing the giant cartels and monopolies, reorganizing the judiciary system and reorienting the educational system towards peaceful, non-Nazi directions.

THE COLD WAR OPENS: Nothing was said or written about guaranteeing U.S., Britain and France passage from West Germany to their forces in West Berlin, located 100 miles within East Germany. Gen. Lucius D. Clay in his book, **Decision in Germany**, wrote that Ambassador Winant "believed it possible to develop a mutual friendly understanding" between the East and the West in which questions of passage and other issues could be settled amicably.

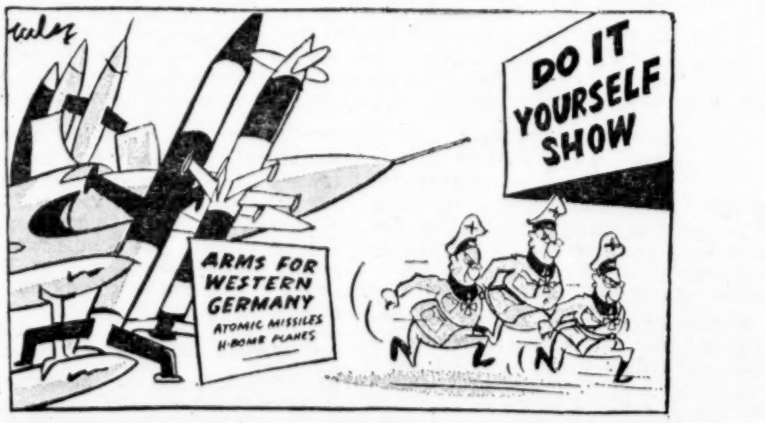
But such understanding had no chance to develop after Churchill and Truman launched the cold war in 1946. The Soviet Union was declared the West's No. 1 enemy. Many openly regretted that Hitler had not continued his war against the U.S.S.R., leaving the West alone. Disagreements developed within the Control Council about policy on German demilitarization. In 1948, Western plans to set up the German Federal Republic precipitated the Berlin blockade, and the Control Council in effect ceased to function.

OUT OF DATE: In 1949, the Federal Republic was established and Moscow followed by allowing the GDR to be established. The West openly encouraged West German rearmament and made Bonn a member of NATO. Moscow in turn included the GDR in the Warsaw Pact. Former Nazis returned to power in West Germany—among them 104 generals in Bonn's army, nine in Adenauer's Cabinet of 18, 600 judges who had sent Hitler's opponents to death. Former cartelists again dominated the West German economy.

The situation, therefore, is vastly different from the time when the Potsdam agreement was signed. The Control Council in Berlin no longer fulfills its original function and neither Eastern nor Western non-German military forces have valid reason for being in Berlin. As Walter Lippman noted, the West's position is "curiously out of date." He added:

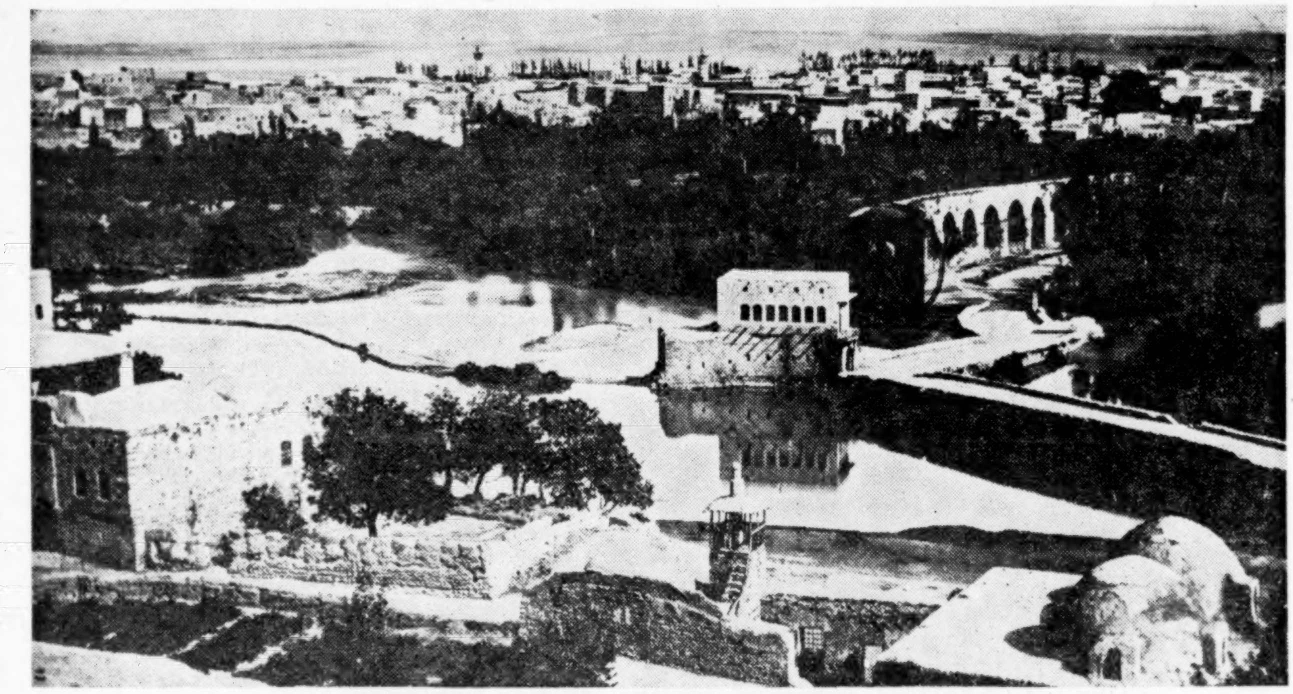
"Their terms call for the liquidation of the East German state and the extension of the frontier of NATO to the Polish border. This is literally and exactly a demand for the unconditional surrender of the Soviet Union, and it is not a negotiating position."

THE ALTERNATIVES: There seem to be only two alternatives, if a nuclear war is precluded: (1) Discusssion on the basis of Khrushchev's proposal for making West Berlin—the point of highest tension—a "free city" with its own government and economy, and a demilitarized East-West German confederation within a nuclear-free neutral zone in Central Europe; (2) continued division of Germany and conflict over Berlin's status, until Dulles, Adenauer and Lloyd are succeeded by men and policies with greater vision.



Eccles in London Worker

THE LATEST CRAZE



A PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF DAMASCUS
The Syrian capital is the oldest still-inhabited city in the world and no stranger to crisis.

A LOOK AT THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST

Syria ten months after union with Egypt

Few aware persons today deny the urge and the progress to unity among the Arabs. There is daily dramatic evidence of their desire for freedom from feudal rule and foreign control, their abhorrence of entangling military alliances, their hunger for economic betterment.

Egypt and Syria have merged into the United Arab Republic. Iraq has liquidated its feudal ruler, brought to trial several former pro-Western political leaders, given the death blow to the Baghdad Pact. The Sudan recently experienced a turnover in political power.

None of these countries is governed by socialists or communists; but all of them in principle and practice have accepted aid from the East, as well as the West, as long as the aid has been without strings. The UAR has trade-aid agreements with Moscow and Peking; Iraq is trading with China; the Sudanese last week recognized Peking.

Tunisia has been showing signs of disillusionment with Western promises of aid left unfulfilled and is hinting at a turn to the East. Morocco has asked for withdrawal of all foreign troops from its soil. An Algerian government-in-exile commission is now in Peking to negotiate an arms deal.

This Arab renaissance has also created inter-Arab and regional conflicts and posed serious problems for the West. Jordan's fate hangs in the balance; Lebanon is still perched precariously on the fence; the Israel-Arab conflict remains unresolved, and the West is up to its ears in Middle East intrigue to protect its vast oil investments.

Until recently, UAR President Nasser has been the symbol of Arab progress, but he now has competitors. Tunisia's President Bourguiba has openly challenged Nasser's leadership, has even accused Nasser of hatching a plot to assassinate him. Ghana's Premier Nkrumah is seeking to draw the nations of North Africa into an African Federation. Iraq's Premier Kassem has increased his stature by refusing to be stampeded into merging his country with the UAR.

The West is attempting to use to its advantage this clash of personalities and programs. It seems to have pinned its hopes especially on Iraq, where the major Western powers are partners in the Iraq Petroleum Co. At the recent Baghdad trials of former Iraq leaders, many witnesses testified to Western efforts to push Iraq into an attack on Syria. Premier Kassem himself said on Nov. 26 that he was sent to Jordan in 1956 to command Iraqi forces against Syria, but made common cause with the Syrian forces instead.

At the root of the struggle is this question: What form should Arab unity take—a UAR-type merger, or a federation in which the federating units maintain their identities? In the following article the GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran turns the spotlight on this question with an on-the-spot report on Syria since its merger with Egypt.

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

DAMASCUS

THIS CITY remains one of the most prosperous-appearing cities in the Arab East. But appearances are deceptive. Beneath the glitter there is political grumbling and economic distress.

Syrians do not like the passive role in politics to which they have been relegated since their parliament and political parties were dissolved and the capital was transferred to Cairo after the Egyptian-Syrian union almost 10 months ago. Many here attribute Syria's ability to withstand successfully the alleged Anglo-American conspiracies (documented in the Baghdad trials) by its democratic regime and the high political consciousness of its people. But although they criticize the way union is being effected, Syrians remain loyal to it as an important step toward Arab liberation.

People are worried by such developments as the following:

PRESS REORGANIZATION: Thirty-four of Syria's 87 pre-union daily papers (many financed by foreign embassies, as the Baghdad trials revealed, with names and sums involved) have folded. There is little support for introducing here the Egyptian system of a government-financed and controlled press. Government directives limiting criticism of the regime were imposed some weeks ago. But so strong is the desire for a press free of government financing and control that the basic question remains unsolved.

NATIONAL UNION: Political parties (People's, National and Baath) were dissolved by decree when President Nasser came here last Feb. 24 to proclaim union. But no progress has been made toward setting up an Egyptian-style National Union—"not a political party but an assembly of the people behind the President." The officially liquidated parties still strive to maintain their influence.

AL BAATH: Leaders of Al Baath (Arab Socialist Renaissance Party) were chiefly responsible for the hasty and unexpected union with Egypt last February. Though still influential among some middle peasants, students and workers, Al Baath has ceased to be a political force in Damascus.

LABOR MOVEMENT: Only 100,000 Syrian workers are organized but split into 300 or more unions. Despite their weaknesses, they have won important rights not enjoyed by Egyptian workers: paid vacations; sick and maternity leave; minimum wages; the 8-hour day for most workers; the right to organize independent unions and the right to strike. But they claim to have been seriously hampered by discrimination against progressive trade union leaders practised by Baathist officials who control the Social Affairs Ministry.

In the Sept. 12 elections at Homs for the executive committee of the General Fedn. of Labor, the government disqualified the 36 progressive unions of the 210 entitled to participate (with one vote each). As a result, the progressive slate lost and the Baathists won—by 24 votes. The new executive committee may be ready to, but may not succeed, in giving the government what it wants—the Egyptian pattern of control and outlawing of strikes. Progressive trade union leaders expect to fight it.

THE CP POSITION: The Communist Party has refused to liquidate itself. It supported union with Egypt but insisted and still insists that the union have a democratic base. CP leader Khalid Bagdash, who left Syria when union was proclaimed, recently returned to Damascus and was visited by 5,000 callers representing all walks of life. The Communist position on union—that is, the demand for union plus internal democracy—now coincides with what many people feel. It has been reinforced by the Iraq revolution whose democratic character has had powerful attraction here.

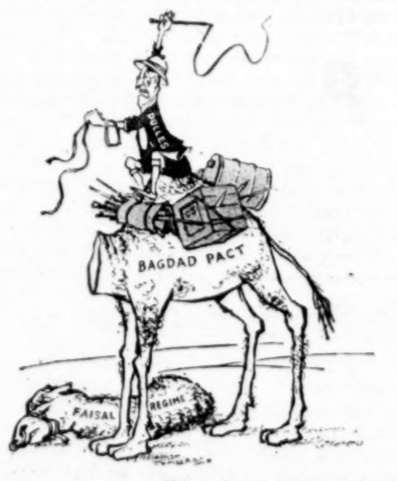
ECONOMIC WOES: Political discontent in Syria has been matched by economic difficulties. Exports from its national port, Lattakia, in September stood at less than 16,000 tons against 90,000 tons last year. Behind current difficulties lie these factors:

- A poor cereal harvest—roughly 40% of that of last year, a good year.
- Import restrictions imposed last April after a rainless winter insured that there would be no cereal exports, and imports had climbed to an unprecedented level in the first three months of 1958. These controls paralyzed commercial activity and brought credit restrictions by certain banks.
- Since Egypt has trade and exchange controls and Syria does not, people linked import controls to union with Egypt, began to speculate and to import as much as they could, hoping to sell later at higher prices. Big price fluctuations and new controls followed.
- The troubles in Lebanon which cut Syria's oil supply and halted its exports to Lebanon (four times its imports).
- Loss of the Iraq textile market owing to embargo imposed by Nuri Said's regime.

TRADE WITH THE EAST: Restoration of trade with Lebanon and Iraq, a good cotton harvest, and some easing of import controls have recently brought a slight improvement. New import controls in August designed to orient Syrian buying toward the socialist countries had, initially, a restraining effect. (Syrian exports to socialist countries rose from 7.7% of total exports in 1956 to 18.9% in 1957, but imports only from 4.9% to 9.3%. Socialist countries paid the surplus in hard currency but cannot be expected to do so indefinitely).

Business uncertainty is increasing as total economic union with Egypt is apparently being pushed through in a matter of months, perhaps because of the Iraq revolution. For Syria's ties have been traditionally closer to Iraq than to Egypt, and economic union might be harder to achieve once a liberated Iraq begins to exercise a gravitational pull on the Arab world.

AGRICULTURE PLAN: Yet union has already brought major steps which point the way to economic development and modernization. Nomadic Beduins are being settled as peasants. A land reform decree is limiting land ownership to 200 acres of irrigated or 750 acres of non-irrigated land. If implemented, it will destroy the basis of feudalism in Syria. The decree will give a maximum of 20 acres of irrigated land or 75 acres of non-irrigated land to each landless peasant, who will be required to join a cooperative; these will be assisted by the reformed Agricultural Bank.



China Reconstructs, Peking

Syria's ten-year development program is geared to agriculture, aimed primarily to free the economy from its dependence on rain. The biggest project is the dam on the Euphrates to be built with Soviet aid. The program will also increase hydroelectric power resources by 500% and build a communications network between centers of production and the ports.

INDUSTRY PLAN: A five-year industrial plan is about to be announced. Advance notices suggest that this consists largely of a conglomeration of rather unrelated industrial projects without involving any real planning. Government experts explain this must await completion of the geological map of the country and prospecting for oils and minerals.

Younger Syrian economists, however, believe industrialization must go hand in hand with the modernization of agriculture. Everything depends, in their view, on whether or not development in both Egypt and Syria moves in the direction of real economic planning.

This is a question still to be determined

THE HAPPY TOWN OF MONROE, N.C.

‘I miss my Fuzzy and want him home with me’

In Monroe, N.C., last month Hanover Thompson and Fuzzy Simpson were arrested and tried on a charge of "attempted rape on females" and sentenced to indeterminate imprisonment at the Morrison Training School for Delinquent Boys (GUARDIAN, Nov. 24). Hanover is 9, Fuzzy 8. Both are Negroes. The attempted rape consisted of the fact that a little white girl had kissed Hanover during a game. Last week two New York high school students, Nora Roberts and Joan Garrett, both 16, went down to Monroe for the Young Socialist *monthly (342 E. 8th St., N.Y.C. 9, $1 a year) to see what manner of community it was that allows such a thing to happen. This is their own story.*

By Nora Roberts
Special to the Guardian

MONROE, N.C.

PEACE AND HAPPINESS prevail in Monroe, North Carolina; at least, that's what the local papers say. Two little Negro boys, aged 8 and 9, sit in peace in a reform school because a white girl kissed one of them. A white farmer is back in his fields in happiness after having severely beaten the pregnant wife of a Negro share-cropper in an attempt to rape her.

NORA ROBERTS

These are the two events which prompted us to go down and get a view of the peaceful community for ourselves.

Monroe is a small town, (pop. 12,000) situated 35 miles west of Charlotte, N.C., textile center of the South. Its main street looks like the center of any suburban town in the North or West. Trees line the street cutting through rows of small, two-story stores and businesses. There is a white frame Protestant church in the background.

But when we entered the comfortable terminal waiting room marked WHITE we knew this was the South. The COLORED room, segregated by a steel fence, was dark and dismal, seating no more than 10 people.

We felt the cold stares as we asked, on the telephone, for Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Welcome to the social jungle," said Mrs. Williams as she opened her car door when she came to pick us up. "You are now behind the iron curtain of hatred." The looks we got from the white people who saw us riding with her pointed up what she meant.

Robert Williams greeted us at his door. He is a big man, about six feet tall. Even so, we felt his power more in the way he talked and was talked about by his friends we met later. "White folks don't like all the publicity Monroe's been getting recently," he said. "They've set up a committee to lure industry down here and they don't want businessmen scared away." The Monroe newspapers back up his statement by charging big city newspapermen with "bad reporting" in their stories about the two boys.

MR. WILLIAMS TOOK US for a walk around the neighborhood. He showed us the school where his two boys go and where Hanover and Fuzzy went before they were taken off.

Wingate Avenue School is just barely large enough to hold the hundreds of Negro children who walk from all parts of the "happy" community to go to school each morning.

A small cafe, owned and operated by Negroes, attracted our attention. We were surprised to see a white man sitting at the counter. Mr. Williams explained: "Segregation is a one-way business. A white man is free to go wherever he pleases, but if you have a dark skin, you go where the whites say you can go."

As we left the cafe, Dr. A. E. Perry, vice president of the Union County NAACP, drove up. He offered us a lift across town to meet the mothers of the two boys in the reform school.

Monroe is laid out in sections, branching out from the center, like a patch-work quilt. Negro and white neighborhoods are patched one right next to the other, separated only by a narrow street. It is easy to see how children cross the street to play together.

We stopped in front of a group of small, unpainted shacks. They looked as if they would crumble if you blew on them too hard. They probably wouldn't though: they've been standing there for 100 years. "These are called 'shot-gun' shacks," said Dr. Perry. "There are three rooms, one behind the other. A bullet shot through the front door can go right through the house and out the back without stopping."

MRS. SIMPSON, MOTHER OF EIGHT-YEAR-OLD Fuzzy, came out of the nearest such house. Mrs. Thompson, Hanover's mother, walked toward us from down the street. Both are domestic workers, supporting their children by themselves on the $20 they make each week working in white homes. Mrs. Simpson said sorrowfully: "I miss my Fuzzy and I want him home with me. They won't even let me see him until he's been in that reformatory for a month."

As we talked, Dr. Perry pointed to a large brick school building a few hundred feet away. "There are a lot of decent white folks between the Negro children and that school," he said. "Unfortunately they're all lying here in this cemetery."

The sheriff was standing in the bus station as we prepared to leave. He asked a few questions about us but not of us, then stood watching us from across the street as we left. From the back of the bus window, we could see the Union County courthouse. A white cross of electric lights shone from its top over the peaceful, happy community of Monroe, N.C.

CONFERENCE ON THE USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Power enough to light a world at peace

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

WITHIN A FEW YEARS electric lights powered by atomic energy may be gleaming across the dark steppes of Russia and from the windows of mountain villages in India. Atomic power plants will be found around the world sooner than the public has been given to expect.

This is the report brought back from the recent UN Intl. Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held in Geneva by James L. Grahl, director of the Atomic Energy Service of the American Public Power Assn.

Grahl was with the Bureau of the Budget assigned to atomic energy matters before he became an atomic power advisor to the APPA—an association of municipal and county power systems. He watched the early progress of atomic power development creep slowly through its beginning years. At the meeting in Switzerland, he gained the impression that technical progress is now moving rapidly. The gathering was attended by more than 5,000 scientific delegates and observers and over 2,200 technical papers were submitted.

PLANTS IN OPERATION: Fourteen experimental nuclear energy plants are now delivering power to electric utility grids in various parts of the world, and at least 20 more are under construction, Grahl reported.

Within perhaps four to six years a number of countries expect to be operating plants that are economically competitive with conventional generating stations, he reports.

The British expect to achieve competitive costs of operation for the 500,000 kilowatt plant they plan to complete in 1962. By the late 1960's they hope this plant will have cut costs "well below" those for present coal-fired stations.

India feels certain that its first 150,000 kilowatt plant will be competitive.

The World Bank has accepted bids for a 150,000 kilowatt plant in Italy which is expected to operate at costs no more than 10% higher than existing plants, and probably considerably lower when some experience has been accumulated.

Plans by various countries include atomic power plants designed for a total of around 15,000,000 kilowatt capacity between 1965 and 1970. The consensus at the meeting, Grahl reported, was that by 1975 nearly all new power stations would derive their energy from atomic fuels.

FUEL COSTS VAGUE: The principal unknown factor in these calculations is the cost of fuel. Uranium elements can produce at least 3,000 days of heat energy at the rate of 1,000 kilowatts per day per ton of uranium. This means that the energy that can be extracted from one ton of uranium is equivalent to the energy of about 10,000 tons of coal. With uranium oxide fuels, a performance about three times as good is expected.

Supplies of uranium and thorium, the two elements used most frequently, were estimated to be two to four times higher than estimates made at the first atomic energy conference in Geneva three years ago.

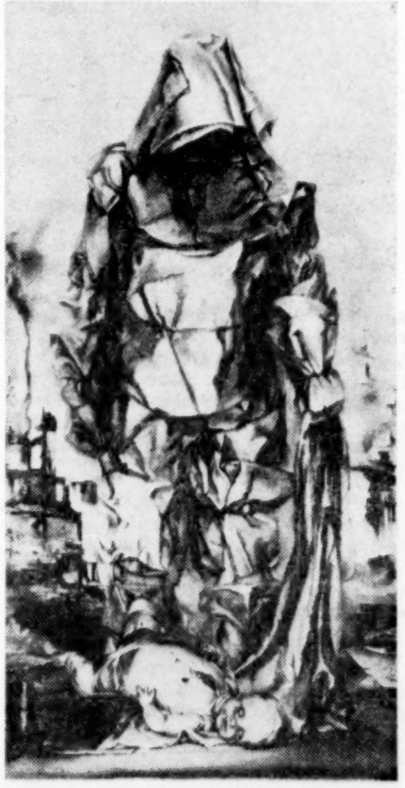
Grahl reported also that progress has been made in controlled atomic fusion research since the 1955 conference. Among the nations working on problems of controlled fusion are the U.S., Russia, Britain, France and Sweden.

RUSSIAN PROJECTS: V. S. Emelyanov, the principal Russian delegate to the conference, declared that atomic power gradually will occupy a more prominent place in the total energy balance of his country for three principal reasons: (1) fossil fuel and hydro resources are limited in some areas of European Russia; (2) in remote areas atomic reactors will be important "in the immediate future," especially in the north; and (3) fossil fuels, which are the raw materials for much of the rapidly developing chemical industry, will be needed for other than fuel purposes.

The first U.S.S.R. station of 5,000-kilowatt capacity has been operating reliably for four years, he said, and has proved rather simple and convenient. The largest power producing reactor now operating anywhere in the world, he reported, is producing power in an undisclosed part of Siberia. Its initial capacity is 100,000 kilowatts; but construction of five additional reactors with an ultimate total for the project of about 600,000 kilowatts is proceeding.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS: The U.S. delegation did not make a good impression upon the conference with its recommendations for developing practical uses of atomic explosions. It suggested explosions for such purposes as digging harbors and producing subterranean heat for power. Scientists from other countries did not believe these were practical ideas, and some felt they would endanger efforts to agree on stopping atomic bomb tests.

Of especial interest to rural electric cooperatives, and others requiring small generating stations, was Cuba's announcement of a contract with British and U.S. engineering concerns for a 22,000-kilowatt boiling water reactor to be built for $300 per kilowatt of capacity. This compares with a cost for coal-fired plants of this size of about $200 per kilowatt of capacity. It is estimated that comparatively low fuel costs will enable it to produce electricity at 11 to 12 mills per kilowatt-hour, a figure economical for areas where costs of coal and oil are higher than those for atomic fuels.


WHAT IS MAN?

That's the title Ruth Ray of Darien, Conn., gave to this painting of hers shown recently in a New York show. She said the painting was motivated by her haunted dreams which she attributes to the tensions over headlines about nuclear war and worry over the future of her children. In the painting a newspaper-shrouded man stands over a smashed baby doll.

WHITMAN'S FRIEND

Traubel centenary observed

IN Philadelphia's Free Library and in the Library of Congress in Washington there will be special exhibits this winter to celebrate the centenary of an American Socialist, Horace L. Traubel.

Traubel, born on Dec. 19, 1858, was a poet with three keys to his life: Marx, Debs and Whitman. He early became a Marxian socialist and in 1904 keynoted the first part of the 20th century when he wrote:

This is the moment of the lapse
of eras of force in eras of love
This is the bridgeroad, this is the mysterious archway of the rainbow,
This is the darkest shadow meeting the brightest light:
The worst comes before the best comes.

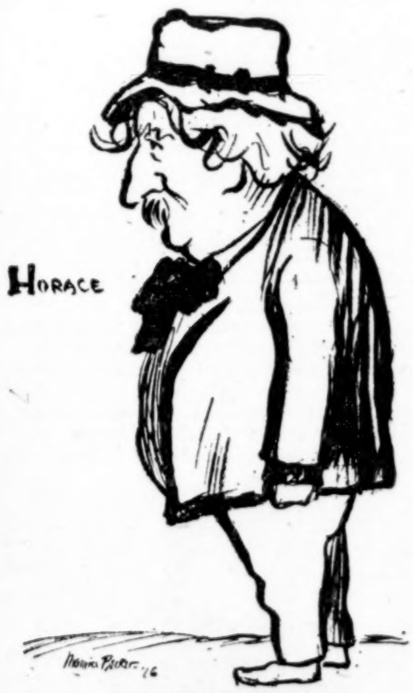
Politically Traubel followed Debs and he walked with Walt Whitman as a poet, a friend and a Boswell. His three-volume work, **With Walt Whitman in Camden**, is a record of conversations between the two poets. Like Whitman he put people ahead of all other considerations, even ahead of poetry itself. An old bookmark carries this quotation of Traubel:

"Before the beauty and eminence of that which is written is the superior beauty and eminence of that which is written about. Before the magnificence of the greatest book comes the majesty of the meanest soul."

He also wrote on the "fun" of martyrs. He referred to the "men and women totally unknown in their present and future who gladly took their medicine. They talk on street corners and in the parks for fun. They go to jail for fun. They are ready to be misunderstood for fun . . . they'll always glow anonymously in the general sun. Why does the sun shine anyhow? I suppose just for fun."

Horace Traubel died in 1919 still vigorously calling: "Go towards the light."

The Philadelphia commemorative exhibition at the Free Library in Logan Square opened on Dec. 1 and will run to Dec. 29. The Library of Congress exhibit is scheduled from Dec. 19 through January and February.



HORACE TRAUBEL

A drawing made of the poet by Maurice Becker in 1916

The new Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

mittee posts are liberally distributed among Senators from the Southern "badlands" of the trade union movement. Such Dixie stalwarts as Johnston (S.C.), Ellender (La.), Holland (Fla.), McClellan (Ark.), Robertson (Va.), Russell (Ga.) and Hill (Ala.) may be depended upon to preserve the party from any undue concern for civil rights and social welfare.

When Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois recently suggested that the committees ought to be reshuffled to include some of the new "radicals" who rode into the Senate on last month's Democratic tide, Johnson's chief aide, Senate Whip Mike Mansfield of Montana, let it be known he preferred the stacked deck as it is.

CAUTIOUS FRESHMEN: Johnson himself responded to the election with mixed platitudes. The nation is in for an era of "prudent progressivism" in Washington, he said. The mandate is to be "progressive without being radical," and "conservative without being a mossback, a standpatter." He then announced a 12-point legislative program which excluded any mention of civil rights, and stood pat on the question of changes in Senate party leadership.

Faced with the fact of the Majority Leader's power to determine their committee assignments and dispose of their bills, the 13 new Democratic Senators elected Nov. 4 and the two from Alaska chosen on the 25th, are likely to tread a careful path in the 86th Congress. William Proxmire, whose re-election in Wisconsin was regarded by his Republican opponent as a victory for "Reuther and Khrushchev," indicated that he and new Democrats would support Johnson's "moderation." Of the powerful Texan, he said: "He has been fair to everybody. In my judgment it would be wrong for a majority leader to reflect the attitude of either liberals or the Southern conservatives of the party."

THE CHAIRMEN: The Southern domination of Congress is even more strikingly revealed in the chairmanships of 19 key committees in the Senate and House. Thirteen of 19 chairmanships are held by Southerners or near-Southerners. Of the others, one each is held by Senators or Representatives from Arizona, Montana, Colorado, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and New York.

In only one area do the committee chairmen in both houses represent a point of view at variance with the reactionary Republican position. Sen. James E. Murray of Montana and Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado, heads of the Interior committees, both favor Hawaii statehood and Federally-financed power and water projects.

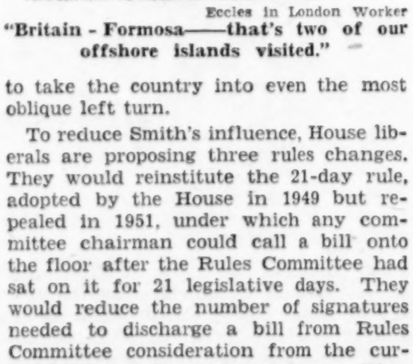
Though 91-year-old Sen. Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island and Rep. Thomas E. Morgan of Pennsylvania hold the reins on foreign relations, they ride herd in the cold-war field where Republican-Democratic differences have been negligible. And any progressive legislation which Rep. Emanuel Celler may steer through the House on matters relating to the courts, monopolies, immigration or internal security questions is usually more than counter-balanced by the reactionary measures sponsored by his Senate counterpart, Judiciary chairman James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

CHANGES DIFFICULT: For the rest—Labor, Finance, Appropriations, Armed Services, Agriculture, Banking and Rules (in the House)—the key committees are firmly in the hands of Southern and border state Congressmen who shun even the mildest of liberal proposals like a plague.

An example of the difficulty in changing committee leadership is afforded by the discussion of the current proposal for dividing the House Committee on Labor and Education into two bodies. A conservative North Carolinian, Graham Barden, is chairman of the unwieldy 30-member committee. Plans for setting up two committees have foundered because normal seniority procedures would place one of the two chairmanships in the hands of New York's Adam C. Powell, a Northerner, a maverick and a Negro.

THE RULES: Conservative Southerners rely on the rules of the House and Senate for their third major line of defense against legislative progress. And it is this line that seems most susceptible to attack by the liberals in the forthcoming session. In the Senate the fire on opening day will be directed against Rule 22 which enables a minority of lawmakers to filibuster civil rights bills to death (see story on this page). In the House a movement is gathering momentum to revise the rules under which labor, social welfare and civil liberties bills are customarily bottled up by the Rules Committee.

This body, chaired by the author of the Smith Act, Howard Smith of Virginia, serves as the legislative traffic cop in the lower House. The Virginian uses a variety of rules to block the right of way to any legislation that promises to take the country into even the most oblique left turn.



Eccles in London Worker

"Britain - Formosa——that's two of our offshore islands visited."

To reduce Smith's influence, House liberals are proposing three rules changes. They would reinstitute the 21-day rule, adopted by the House in 1949 but repealed in 1951, under which any committee chairman could call a bill onto the floor after the Rules Committee had sat on it for 21 legislative days. They would reduce the number of signatures needed to discharge a bill from Rules Committee consideration from the current 218 to 150 or even fewer. They would change the party make-up of the Committee from eight Democrats and four Republicans to 9-3. Often the defection of Smith and Democratic Rep. William Colmer of Mississippi to the Republican side is enough to bring about a 6-6 tie vote and death to liberal bills.

THE PROSPECTS: Ironically, whether or not the rules changes are affected will depend largely on another Southerner, Texan Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House. Rayburn will rule on opening day whether, in his view, the House rules need any freshening. If he says no, the chances of over-ruling his rule against curbing the Rules Committee will be slim.

For all these built-in difficulties in the way of Congressional liberals, there can be little question but that the balance of power in national politics is shifting away from the South. This must be one of the salient conclusions of the recent elections.

Twelve Western states, including Alaska, will send 19 Democratic Senators to the new Congress, only three fewer than the 22 from the Confederate states. These Western states have also gained in the House, now claiming 32 of 57 seats in the area. As a result of their spectacular sweep in the West and Midwest, the Democrats will now control the Senate, 64-34, and the House by a 283-152 margin.

There will be no fewer Southerners of conservative bent and holding key positions. But they will be deprived of their usually unbeatable alliance with a host of reactionary Republicans who were recently retired by the voters. And they will be consorting, on their side of the aisle, with a much more determined contingent of Democratic colleagues who have a mandate for progress.

The result is that, in the estimate of the Washington **Post**, "the once formidable Southern caucus is slipping in its ability to bar the door to any given legislation, including a change in Senate rules." While that may be true, the progressive breakthrough is bound to be distorted and limited so long as the widespread Southern disfranchisement of Negroes provides a sure political base for reaction in the country.

The fight to change Rule 22

IN 1917 THE U.S. Senate adopted Rule 22, a measure on the surface designed to insure against undue haste in transacting the nation's business. In reality the rule has been used to permit dilatory "debate" as a means of killing civil rights and kindred legislation.

Rule 22 provides that the vote of two-thirds of the total Senate is required to shut off debate on a bill. Only four times since 1917 have opponents of the filibuster been able to muster the votes needed to defeat one. None of these instances involved civil rights legislation.

On opening day, Jan. 7, a bipartisan attack on Rule 22 will be launched by Democratic Senators Douglas of Illinois, Humphrey of Minnesota, and Republicans Javits of New York and Case of New Jersey. These Senators propose, as a minimum, that debate be halted by the vote of two-thirds of those present and voting. It is reported that Majority Leader Johnson has agreed to support such a change.

MAJORITY SEEN: As a maximum objective, the liberal bloc would like to authorize cloture by a majority vote of the total Senate after 15 days of debate, or by two-thirds of the Senators voting and present after two days of deliberation. In both instances each Senator would be granted one additional hour for debate after the shut-off vote.

When the 85th Congress opened in 1957 Southerners, with the aid of six Northern Democrats and 28 Republicans, succeeded in blocking any change in the cloture rule. But the recent elections have considerably reduced the number of their dependable allies. Sen. Douglas now estimates that liberals can count on 51 of 98 votes for a rule change, a bare majority.

Whether the question will ever get to a vote will depend on rulings which the Senate's presiding officer, Vice President Nixon, his eyes fixed on 1960, is expected to make: (1) that a motion for amending the rules is in order since the Senate is not a "continuing body" with rules fixed forever; (2) that a motion for stopping debate is not itself susceptible to unlimited debate, despite a provision to that effect in Section 2 of Rule 22, and (3) that 50% of the Senate is an adequate number to change its rules.

Bill of Rights fete

ON MONDAY, DEC. 15, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee will celebrate the 167th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights at Hotel New Yorker at 8:30 p.m. The theme of the evening will be "Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in 1959."

The speakers will be I.F. Stone on "Civil Liberties and the Struggle Against War;" Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, chairman of the Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, on "Operation Abolition" (of the House Un-American Activities Committee); Judge Hubert Delany on "The Civil Rights Crisis;" Harvey O'Connor, who will be chairman, on "Why I Said No to the Un-American Committee."

Admission is $2.50 and will include dessert and coffee.

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the SPECTATOR

The right to live

IN SAN QUENTIN PRISON there is a booth with two chairs inside it and picture-windows all around. On occasion those windows are filled with the intent faces of spectators. They come to watch a carefully premeditated and agonizing cruel murder. They are called witnesses and reporters but in fact they are participants.

The picture-windows of the gas chamber have been expanded by a brilliant, searing, forthright movie called **I Want To Live.** Now in darkened theaters across the country anyone may sit and watch the barbaric ritual murder that is done in the name of the people, with the consent and connivance of the people, with the approbation of church and state. The ceremony of human sacrifice is expertly documented in this two-hour film—the frenzied death dance of the press, the morbid excitement of the public, the game of law and the death traps laid by the hunters of souls called policemen.

As at the death chamber it is hard for the audience in such a movie to conceal from themselves that they are participants. That is perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to a work of art. And **I Want To Live** is powerful art.

THE MOVIE IS NOT A TOUR through a chamber of horrors, though it has moments that may unstring the nerves even of a hanging judge. Based on the actual murder case which ended in the execution of 32-year old Barbara Graham in San Quentin some years ago, the movie documents our social savagery in human terms. Walter Wanger's production, the swift direction of Robert Wise and John Mandel's subtle nerve-jangling jazz score are the skillful means by which the film makes its statement. But the statement itself is the film's significant achievement.

There are unpleasant people in this movie but none whose villainy matches the social evil of capital punishment and the absurd legal maneuvers which pass for justice in the people's name. Barbara Graham, played sensitively and movingly by Susan Hayward, is a beguiling prostitute. She is tough and tender, childlike and worldly-wise. She has all the generous instincts for which society has very little room. Her crimes are impersonal and non-violent: prostitution, check-kiting, touting strangers to gambling halls. She finds herself framed on a charge of brutally murdering an old lady in the course of a robbery.

At that point the guilt of the criminal class begins to pale before the monstrous guilt of police, lawyers, newspapers, the demonic crowd and the mechanism devised for legal murder. Her only alibi is her six-months old son for whom she was caring on the night of the murder. In need of a better alibi she listens to the advice of a fellow prisoner who steers her to a man who, she says, will fake one for her. He in turn tricks her into a false statement that she was at the murder scene, then takes the stand as a police officer to assure her conviction. The prisoner who "cooperated" goes free.

FLASH-BULBS LIGHT UP every appearance Barbara makes: reporters hound her and luridly dub her "the tiger lady" for headline purposes. They convict her long before the jury can hear her case. Court-appointed lawyers make their feeble efforts, with no money for investigation, with one eye out for their own good standing. Everywhere is the hungry crowd, besieging her for autographs, staring at her, relishing morbidly the prospect of a sexy young woman as a blood sacrifice.

A reporter, a psychiatrist and a lawyer come to believe in her innocence, but far too late. The legal "safeguards" such as appeals, last-minute reprieves, stays of execution become only an exquisite torture on the way to crucifixion. The "courtesies" of her choice of meals, the kindness of guards on the death watch become a species of cruel irony.

If the judge in this film were less commonplace; if the cops were towering brutes; if the frame-up was the work of a sinister mind and not a desperate one itself seeking to evade death—this film would be no more than a melodrama. What gives it power is its premise: the guilty one is not a person but a system—not the executioner but capital punishment.

THE FILM'S ARGUMENT leaves no room for palliatives. Capital punishment cannot be sweetened by nicer jailers or swifter, more sterile forms of death. It cannot be rendered acceptable by more legal maneuvering. The curiosity-chasers who follow Barbara Graham to the doors of San Quentin, who gawk through the glass windows of the gas chamber are people like those who will watch the film in the movie-houses. They and even the unspeakable human-interest reporters and the photographers who clamor for just one more sexy shot on the road to death are driven to their madness by our modern murder ritual.

For the purposes of the film it is good that Barbara Graham is innocent of the crime for which she is called because it sets the irreversibility of the death sentence side by side with the fallibility of our courts. But the point would be no less valid if Barbara Graham were guilty. The state's crime is so much greater than her's could be, its effects upon all of us so much more devastating. The gas chamber and the electric chair are monuments to civilization's achievement in making barbarism more efficient. —**Elmer Bendiner**

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NEW YORK

Ed Note: *This ad is paid for by a reader who saw* The Man Who Never Died *because of Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein's review in the* GUARDIAN. *This is his message:*

I want EVERYONE to see the play about Joe Hill I saw last night!

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My wife and I left quietly. We went home to think the story through alone.

The next day I phoned the producer and told him I wanted to place this ad at my expense, as a public service. He agreed to offer special discount prices to GUARDIAN readers. This is the producers' public service. Mine is this ad. Yours is a service you owe yourself—to see THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED.—Phone immediately for your reservation.

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NEW YORK

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THE GALLERY

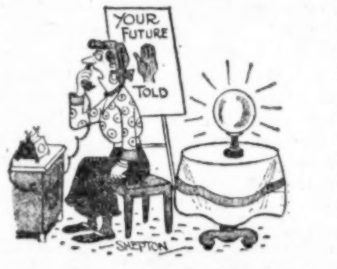
ON NOV. 25 AT 4:30 P.M. a Cuban representative was addressing a meeting on sugar production at the Agriculture Dept. in Washington. Suddenly 13 air-raid sirens sounded in downtown Washington and, while the speaker stood agape, his audience ran from the building along with 5,000 other department employes.

The alarm was set off accidentally by telephone workers who were adjusting the lines. Taking no chances, the jittery government workers behaved as if it were the real thing.

In other parts of the city, reactions were different. Most government workers rushed to the street, found no bombs and returned to work. At the State Dept., a spokesman said, "employes shot questioning glances at each other" and remained at their desks. Treasury workers stayed on the job, an official explained, because "we have to guard the money." At the Capitol, police said, no one left the premises; the President had evacuated himself earlier to Augusta, Ga.

Shoppers in the downtown district, for the most part, ignored the sirens. The Washington **Post** mused: "Perhaps this reflects a sort of unstated belief that much civil defense planning, particularly that based upon large-scale evacuation of cities, has been hopelessly unrealistic." . . . Perhaps they were reassured by Dr. G. D. Kersley of the Royal National Hospital in London who said that "once a nuclear bomb has dropped in your area it is unlikely that there will be another in the district."

HAROLD J. POWERS, defeated Republican Lieutenant Governor of California, wrote to the Oakland **Tribune:** "I want to thank the **Tribune** sincerely for your fine editorial support and recommendations. With the invaluable assistance of the metropolitan and local press we were privileged to have, I am sure we would have won if it had not been for the tremendous Democratic landslide." . . . In Granite City, Ill., Santa Claus emerged from a helicopter, a sack full of goodies for the assembled children in one hand, a bell in the other. As he lifted his arm to ring the bell, his red pants dropped to his knees. . . . A truck in Chicago carries this message scrawled in chalk across its tail-gates: "Another load of golf balls for Ike. Do not delay." . . . A Baptist minister, missing from his congregation in Sabetha, Kan., for two months, turned up in Las Vegas working as a shill in a gambling casino. He said: "I've never been happier. For the first time in my life I have peace of mind." . . . In Taipei, 14,000 people nearly touched off a riot when they tried to squeeze into a stadium staging a hula hoop contest. . . . Dr. Gunnar Gundersen, president of the American Medical Assn., thinks that mental disease may be contagious. He says: "Healthy ideas can be communicated to persons in the mass and we therefore must suspect that sick ideas can be similarly communicated."



London Daily Mirror
"I want to book one of your fire engines for 10:30 next Monday!"

AN AMERICAN REPORTER in London filed the following on the Vice President's trip: "London afternoon newspapers gave the Nixon visit the Number Two spot on their front pages. Top headlines went to local problems." . . . One of the local problems common at this time of year is gift shopping. For "girl railroaders" a company offers: "Lady Lionel Train Set: A beautiful pink frosted locomotive and tender with a matching gondola car, a lilac hopper car, plus a sky blue caboose." . . . For any time of year a Chicago company sells "Cobra—Self-defense street fighting tricks. Designed to help peaceful adults. These are vicious times." . . . A World War II Grumman Hellcat airplane was bought by the city council of Clifton, N.J., to be used in Nash Park as an amusement for children.

—Robert E. Light

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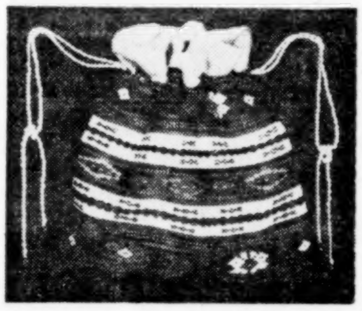

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NEWSPAPER

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THE BIG FIRE ENGINE BOOK by Virginia Brody. A play book in the shape of a fire engine with four wheels that turn. Firemen, ladder trucks, pumper engines and other equipment, all gayly illustrated and explained $1.00

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THANK YOU, MR. SUN by Hyman Ruchlis, illustrated by Alice Hirsh. Teaches the impact of the sun on every aspect of life. The child will get an initial understanding of the meaning of energy and the relationship of the sciences of chemistry, physics and biology $1.00

WHAT MAKES ME TICK? by Hyman Ruchlis, illustrated by Alice Hirsh. How people and cars work. The similarities and differences between a human body and an automobile are developed in conversation between Jimmy and The Car $1.00

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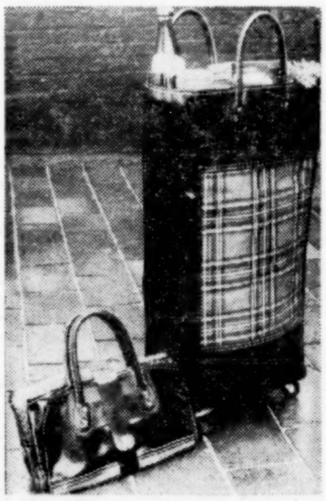

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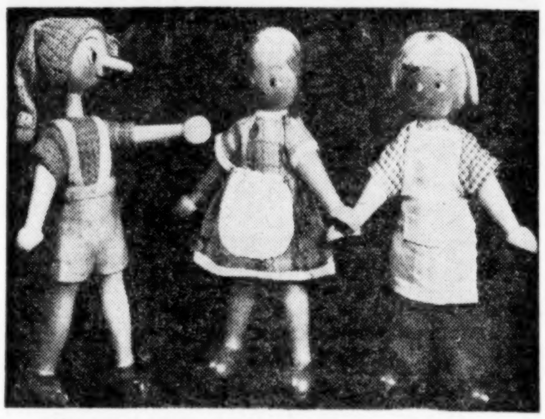

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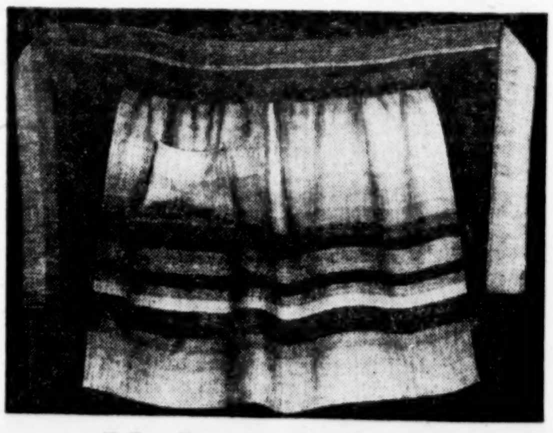

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